

Diaspora weavers: Collective memory and identity of Pagatan Weaving South Kalimantan

Penenun diaspora: Memori kolektif dan identitas Tenun Pagatan Kalimantan Selatan

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Abstract

This study aims to analyze more deeply the collective memory of Bugis weaver community in Pagatan through the form of creating weavers' works that are not only a residue of the past, but also as a representation of the memories collected for their sustainable cultural identity. This research is based on Bugis community in Pagatan as an illustration of diaspora community that continues to carry out its traditions from their ancestors. This research uses qualitative methods, namely observation, in-depth interviews, and FGD (Focus Group Discussion). The purposive technique is carried out to identify informants that have been determined based on the research objectives. This study was analyzed using Maurice Halbwachs' collective memory theory which said that collective memory embedded in the collective mind of the community forms the story of the past as part of the social identity of the community. This research finds that the systematic sequence of the past is like a collection of threads that are intertwined at a certain time, woven into one and cannot be separated from the present point of view. This research concludes that weavers are also able to manage its collective memory by expressing it through forms of Pagatan Weaving motifs as a strategy to survive its identity.

Keywords: collective memory; diaspora community; weaving tradition; Tenun Pagatan

Abstrak

Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk menganalisis lebih dalam tentang memori kolektif komunitas penenun Bugis di Pagatan melalui bentuk kreasi penenun yang tidak hanya menjadi residu masa lalu, tetapi juga representasi dari memori yang terkumpul demi kelangsungan identitas budaya mereka. Penelitian ini didasarkan pada komunitas Bugis di Pagatan sebagai gambaran komunitas diaspora yang tetap menjalankan tradisi nenek moyangnya. Penelitian ini menggunakan metode kualitatif, yaitu observasi, wawancara mendalam, dan FGD (Focus Group Discussion). Teknik purposive digunakan untuk mengidentifikasi informan yang telah ditentukan berdasarkan tujuan penelitian. Penelitian ini dianalisis dengan menggunakan teori memori kolektif dari Maurice Halbwachs yang mengatakan bahwa memori kolektif yang tertanam di dalam pikiran kolektif masyarakat membentuk kisah masa lalu sebagai bagian dari identitas sosial masyarakat. Penelitian ini menemukan bahwa urutan sistematis masa lalu tersebut seperti kumpulan benang yang saling terkait pada waktu tertentu, terjalin menjadi satu dan tidak dapat dipisahkan dari sudut pandang masa kini. Penelitian ini menyimpulkan bahwa, para penenun juga mampu mengelola memori kolektif mereka dengan mengekspresikannya melalui bentuk-bentuk motif Tenun Pagatan sebagai strategi untuk mempertahankan identitas mereka.

Kata Kunci: memori kolektif; masyarakat diaspora; tradisi menenun; Tenun Pagatan

Introduction

Pagatan weaving in South Kalimantan is believed to have been present since the 17th century, along with the Bugis diaspora in the archipelago. This phenomenon are driven by weakening economic factors, the desire to change one's life and a sense of loss of independence (Adriana et al. 2023). Niemeijer even

stated that before this large-scale diaspora occurred, a Bugis trading community had been formed in Pagatan (Niemeijer 2016). The Bugis tribe from the Wajo region is said to have played a very important role in building Pagatan which then developed their culture and civilization in this area (Hendraswati et al. 2017). The Bugis tribe of Wajo has been famous for their weaving skills that have taken root since the 13th century (Syukur et al. 2014). Stephen C. Druce referred to Christian Pelras' research on the Bugis people in 1966 which explained that the Bugis people had known various elements of material culture and techniques for centuries, as well as changes and innovations (Druce 2021). Until now, the weaving knowledge practiced in the Pagatan area still uses traditional techniques and the same loom used by its predecessor from Wajo called *gedog* (Budhi 2015).

The Bugis community in Pagatan is a figure of a diaspora community that continues to carry out its traditions even though it is not in their ancestral land. Safran (1991) in Bhandari (2021) explains that one of the characteristics of the diaspora community include dispersal from a specific origin, retention of a collective memory of the home land, marginalization and alienation in the second space, desire to return to their home land, commitment to the prosperity and safety of their homeland, and communal consciousness solidarity. Cohen & Yefet (2021) emphasizes on the very strong bonds of the diaspora community in its past which is characterized by obstacles in assimilating with the current and future world to emerge and maintain its diaspora identity. The Bugis are often described as an explorer nation that brought with them their culture and traditions to the place where their ships docked. Bugis Pagatan was formed to support the existence and recognition of Bugis by still carrying out their cultural activities as Bugis people even though they are far from their home area. These attachments can take the form of symbols, emotions and materials as a link between members of the diaspora community that distinguish them from the local population (Primaswara & Simatupang 2017).

The tradition of weaving in the context that is still practiced in Pagatan is said to be a strategy to maintain its cultural identity which is a differentiator from other entities in Pagatan (Akhmar et al. 2017). The representation of the tradition is a combination of collective memories that bind the Bugis Community as a diaspora community, through a continuous dynamic process and adjustment to the changing times. Bugis through their weaving tradition can be seen as an identity that is constantly changing, influenced by history, culture, and ongoing authority, as well as the culture of diaspora societies that develops with the meeting of differences in a community (Maulidia 2022). Diasporic identities are those that continually produce and reproduce themselves anew, through transformation and difference. The identity of the diaspora should not be seen as the root essence because the isomorphic relationship, which connects identity with place, is no longer a guide and even tends to be problematic (Clifford 1988).

Halbwachs Maurice acknowledges that each individual retains a mental image of the past events, these representations are fleeting. The images of the past can be structured into lasting memories only to the extent they are contextualized by the social group to which the individual belongs, be it a family, a social class, or a religious community (Bilsel 2017). Thus, the collective memory of a society is known by all members of its society, formed in the ideas of creation that are scattered in the society itself and recognized as a stage of developing the social identity of the community.

Furthermore, Nora (1984) in Nosova (2021) explained that collective memory is nurtured by its society through its traditional knowledge that crystallizes at a certain moment, tied to certain memories and sites with the tension of historical continuity remaining. Olick (1998) in Wawrzyniak (2022) understood that collective memory has a constitutive role in societies, communities, and groups. On the other hand, (Zerubavel 2020) argues that collective memory is not just mnemonic practices in the life of society, but construct a range of temporal structures that are not necessarily compatible with each other or with the emphasis on the singularity of its past.

Again Halbwachs Maurice also revealed about the continuity of memory as the consciousness or political will of its members of the community to preserve their memories through clear systems and structures (Bilsel 2017). So, this memory is fluid, dynamic and always changing with different characteristics,

when compared to its past. The identity can be seen as an identity that is constantly changing, influenced by history, culture, and ongoing authority causing its identity to be connected or disconnected from its region of origin at the same time (Setini et al. 2020). The collective identity of the community formed through the community's understanding of its past, history and collective memory will determine its future policies. This research examines weaving traditions through the collective memory theory within the framework of diaspora communities. In contrast to previous studies which highlighted weaving as a tradition of the majority community in the area where this tradition is practiced, this research explores weaving as a tradition that was brought in by other communities using various strategies to be accepted and survive. This research conveys the symbols of the struggle of weaving community in Pagatan, whose traditional masterpieces are still marginalized in South Kalimantan.

Research Method

This section describes how research is conducted, research design, data collection techniques, instrument development, and data analysis techniques. This study uses a qualitative method that emphasizes an ethnographic approach with three dimensions, namely the full involvement and participation of the researcher of the topic being explored, exploring the culture of the community through the social context of data collection, and the depth of exposure or presentation of data in the research text (Marvasti & Gubrium 2023). In the aspect of determining and exploring the research setting, specific locations where research data were collected were determined, namely: Manurung Village, Mudalang Village and Saring Sungai Binjai Village, with the formulation of research questions prepared focusing on the collective memory of weavers in the weaving tradition practiced in the past to the present which is symbolised in to the motifs and its influence on the sustainability of the tradition in the future.

The informants in this study was determined by using several criteria, as follows: First, weavers who have a lineage as weavers. Second, weavers who understand the context of social and economic networks between weavers. Third, the weaver who masters the techniques or stages of weaving from start to finish on the traditional *gedok* loom. Fourth, is the weaver who heads a group of other weavers who have different skills in completing the weaving work. Furthermore, from these criteria, the researchers then divided them into five generational levels according to the age at which weavers were active, namely: Generation 1 are previous weavers who have passed away and left memories in the next generation, Generation 2 are those who are no longer active in weaving, Generation 3 are those over 60 years old who actively weave, Generation 4, weavers over 45 – 50 years old who actively weave and Generation 5 is the next generation under 30 years old who actively weave. Total number of the informants are 13 Pagatan weavers. Several key informant criteria help researchers find other key informants who are more open. Relationships with the weaver community have been built since a few years earlier so that a more natural closeness is established.

Ethnographic interviews were conducted to each generation category of Pagatan weavers with the aim for collecting data about their collective memory. These interviews used in a variety of contexts, such as questions on specific actions or events, experiences, history and memory shared in the group. Before conducting the interview, the researcher explained the objective to the informants that the interviews done to study the informants' culture and recorded all their conversations, so that they were free to speak using their native language according to their culture which was translated directly by a weaver as a local translator. The relationships built with the weaver community since a few years earlier established a more natural closeness and smoothness observations.

Next, the researcher carried out an ethnographic analysis by compiling the research findings data as cultural knowledge in the form of symbols that have meaning in each generation of weavers. An in-depth analysis was carried out to investigate the relationship between these symbols and find out more about the differences in each symbol from the first generation to the next generation, which ultimately led to the discovery of the meaning behind the relationships and differences between these symbols.

Results and Discussion

The results are the main part of the scientific article, containing: clean results without data analysis process, hypothesis testing results. Results can be presented with tables or graphs, to clarify the results verbally is a process that involves a community group of weavers. Leonard & Sensiper (1998) in Slettli & Singhal (2017) stated that the tacit knowledge of practitioners has an important role as a source of creativity and inspiration for seeing problems in a new light and searching for solutions. However, tacit knowledge can be balanced with good explicit knowledge, which is the ability to share his knowledge with other individuals. Explicit knowledge in the form of knowledge sharing is a competitive advantage possessed by individual craftsmen who are spread in their groups. Sharing knowledge within the group has a significant effect on the ability to innovate and the tendency to generate new ideas to develop innovations in the weaving work process. A key argument is that, through membership in a network and the resulting repeated and enduring exchange relationships, the potential for knowledge acquisition by the network members is created (Stoltz-andersen 2014).

Weaving is described as tacit knowledge obtained from someone's experience passed down by previous generations. Tacit knowledge is very difficult to communicate with others except by people who already have the knowledge themselves. Presenting the function of tradition as a hereditary policy that provides fragments of historical heritage that are seen as useful, legitimacy to the outlook on life, beliefs and institutions. Within an ethnic group's a traditional culture, the sharing of creations is a common practice. To copy a work of art is generally not considered as a transgression of rights, instead it is considered as sharing of culture, which is beneficial (Poon 2020).

In the weaving tradition, there are activities that show a collection of collective experiences from generation to generation that are dynamic and always change constantly following the times. inheritance patterns and knowledge stored in the form of tacit (in the mind) alone make this knowledge vulnerable to extinction (Erza et al. 2018). Therefore, the capacity of weavers is highly demanded in managing change which is also part of indigenous knowledge. Sandra Nissen describes weaving as a product of slow fashion as applied to dress, is commonly described as changing forms of dress that are adopted by a group of people at a certain time and place (Niessen 2020). Weavers are required to be wise in facilitating thinking and encouraging changes in mindsets, worldviews, and practices towards human and nature relational (Simatupang 2018). On the other hand, great concentration, patience and physical strength are very necessary (Hwang & Huang 2019).

According to Christopher Buckley, weaving is generally defined as the process of producing flexible materials, by penetrating each other to create a two-dimensional or three-dimensional structure. Soft yarn materials are required to make textiles and are usually done on looms (Buckley 2017). Weaving is described as tacit knowledge obtained from someone's experience passed down by previous generations. Polanyi (1966) in Walker (2017) explains that knowledge tacit knowledge could arise from introspection, but more generally it came from experience.

As a cultural heritage the traditional ikat consists of tacit knowledge, patterned handwoven textiles, expression of weavers' own ideas and intellectual property rights (de Jong & Kunz 2019). Weaving is a cultural product that is closely related to communication as an interaction to reach an intersubjective agreement in the formation of motifs (Leuape & Dida 2017). The weaver is a craftperson who is rich in traditional sources of knowledge that are usually transmitted in the form of verbal communication and in the practices associated with the making of artefacts, which are lost permanently upon the death of craftspeople (Chudasri et al. 2020).

The word Pagatan Weaving only emerged when the OVOP or One Village One Product program was in full swing in 2010 as a program to determine regional superior products. Tanah Bumbu needs an economic potential to be used as a superior product in the program. Pagatan Weaving was chosen as a superior product because it meets the elements of cultural heritage and has local economic potential as an important criterion for OVOP.

In 2014 as a follow-up to the program, Tanah Bumbu Regency was entitled to receive government assistance, namely a new ATBM loom (Non-Machine Loom). This tool was also distributed in the central villages of weaving activities. Some weavers are sent to weaving centers in Java to understand the use of this tool. The dynamics of weaving tradition in Pagatan changed with the entry of ATBM. The weaver community, which was originally known as a group of gedok weavers, was divided into three categories, namely weavers who rejected ATBM while still using gedok, weavers who used both, namely gedok and ATBM, and weavers who could only use ATBM. The existence of new technology looms has changed the tradition of weavers who initially only used traditional gedok looms to switch to ATBM.

Weavers are required to adapt to new tools to meet the increasing market demand since the release of new products resulting from cheaper ATBMs. Animal motifs that used to be pamali, such as crabs, starfish, fish, and birds, are now found in ATBM fabrics at more affordable prices. The demand of weavers to be more innovative in finding more interesting motifs has unconsciously left the original motif that has survived in their memories. The typical sasirangan of Banjar cultural products, namely Halilipan and Gigi Haruwan into Pagatan weaving, which is used as a watun or the boundary of the upper and lower fabrics.

Reading the trajectory of time

Lippa sabbe or Bugis silk sarong weft was a popular weave from the early days of their arrival to the heyday of Pagatan's fishing and timber industries during the Pagatan Kingdom and Dutch colonial era. Sarongs in sacred Bugis colours mark the origin and level of the wearer. The second generation of weavers illustrate the fame of Pagatan weaving by weaving with complex techniques and high skill. This can be seen in Figure 1, which is a classic weft ikat weave with a dense design, making it very difficult to imitate. The *Majang Kaluku* or young coconut flower motif on this fabric appears to be continuous with the same pattern as the motif in the centre as a distinguishing feature, but is not separated from the main motif. The weaver then explained that it was normal for intricate classical weaving to still be found at this time because his predecessor weavers were still bound by tradition, which required Bugis women to weave wherever they were, so the weavers were more concentrated in carrying out the weaving process.



Figure 1.

Classic silk sarong *Majang Kaluku*

Source: Author documentation

All the weavers in Pagatan, from the second to the fifth generation, expressed the importance of motif innovation, not only to beautify the fabric but also to attract buyers. To the weavers, a fabric with only one motif looks ordinary, standard and does not reflect the skill of the weaver. This can be seen in Figures 2 and 3, which are dominated by the motif of *Cupuk Puranga*, or the flower of the Rambai tree

that grows on the banks of the Kusan River that divides the town of Pagatan, depicting the flower as “Star Above and Moon Below”. *Cupu Puranga* is placed in the centre of the box design, which is usually empty. The sacred colours of Bugis society are still used.



Figure 2.
Cupuk Puranga in the middle
of box patterns
Source: Author documentation



Figure 3.
Cupuk Puranga with simple
Majang Kaluku
Source: Author documentation

Generation 2 and 3 weavers admit that currently the number of weavers who can weave the Songket type of Pagatan weaving, namely *Sobbe Are* and *Sobbe Sumelang*, remains below five weavers. However, this type of weaving is still produced because it is believed to be the guardian of the symbol of nobility, wealth and elegance of women that is still displayed in the Pagatan region. The *Sobbe Are* type of Pagatan weaving in Figure 4 has a standard or specific motif, namely the Mawar or Roses, which is designed with different patterns, the number of stems and leaves. Roses, which contain the meaning of beauty, are more often woven in combination with the colour of silver or gold threads. Similarly, Figure 5 shows *Sobbe Sumelang* with a *Pacilak* motif or what the Pagatan people call *Cilak Haji* in silver thread. The weavers of Generation 2 and 3 refer to the position of Haji as a respected figure and the hope of the Pagatan community to be able to go on Haji.



Figure 4.
Sobbe Are
Source: Author documentation



Figure 5.
Sobbe Sumelang
Source: Author documentation

Most of the informants mentioned that they had learnt weaving since they were kids from key family members: the mother, aunt or grandmother, and then from external sources such as close neighbours or group members. When they were beginners, the first skill they learnt was to create and design a geometric motif in a woven fabric. The geometric motif was called Bombang. All the weavers shared their learning process as beginners with this motif. Figure 6 shows strong opposite colours, black and red of Bombang with sharp geometrical lines.



Figure 6.

Bombang in a slightly tapered design

Source: Author documentation

Bombang as an original motif can dominate the entire fabric space. Pagatan weavers are very fond of motifs in the form of large, small or pointed triangular bases. This motif is always interesting in contrasting or natural colours. It can be seen in the Pagatan fabric woven on the Gedok loom on Figure 7 *Bombang* with geometrical sloping lines.



Figure 7.

The sloping *Bombang*

Source: Author documentation

Bombang is also a very flexible motif. The weavers usually combine it with other motif like *Cupu Puranga*, which can be seen on Figure 8, with emerald as the innovative color. Maymunah, one of the fifth - generation weavers, revealed that understanding how to tie this motif is quicker to compared to other motifs that her mother taught at home. This motif is also easier to continue if previous work is stopped.



Figure 8.

Ikat warp weaving combination of *Cupu Puranga* and *Bombang*

Source: Author documentation

The weavers used to talk about nature as their endless inspiration. Nature comes from the wealth of rice, coconut and corn farming that covers the Pagatan area. Figure 9, Tenun with Jagung - Jagung as a symbol of Pagatan's agricultural wealth. This motif is still often woven by the fourth generation of weavers after the Haj Holiday or customised for wedding gifts.



Figure 9.

Weft ikat weaving Jagung – Jagung
Source: Author documentation



Figure 10.

Motif kapal from gedok loom
Source: Author documentation

The Bugis spirits, the weaver said, must still be felt by people when they see woven fabric. The most famous is *Massompe*, described as the spirit of wandering and sailing the ocean waves in search of a better life. Weavers pour this spirit into the *Kapala* or Kapal motif with Bombang or waves underneath. This motif can be woven on a gedok loom or a non-machanical loom (ATBM) with different fabric results. It can be seen in Figure 10 which shows tenun from gedok loom. The weaver also added Ikan – Ikan or fish together with ships motif. Figure 11 is fabric which woven on non-machanical loom ATBM. Compared to production process that takes almost a month to produce one woven textile, the ATBM is able to produce 20 metres of fabrics, which means 10 pieces of woven fabric.

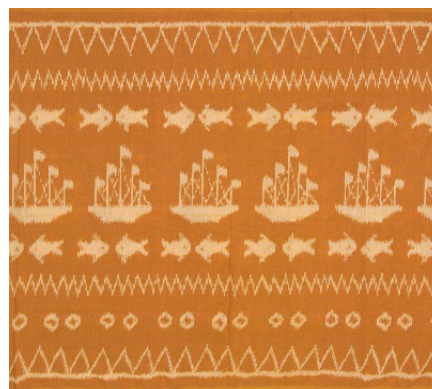


Figure 11.

Bombang and Ikan-Ikan
Source: Author documentation

The marine product motif has been popular since 2012, when Tanah Bumbu Regency was asked to have a special branding to differentiate it from other regions. As a result, productivity has to be increased and weavers have to learn new techniques using non-machine or ATBM. The fourth and fifth generation weavers are more adaptive at this type of machine. The richness motifs can be seen on Figure 12 and Figure 13, which the left Figure symbolizes Ikan and Pasir Pantai or fish with seashore sand and the right also Ikan and Bintang Laut or fish with starfish.



Figure 12.
Ikan-Ikan and Pasir Pantai
Source: Author documentation



Figure 13.
Ikan-Ikan and Bintang Laut
Source: Author documentation

Before covid pandemic, local government always held motif competitions in April during the *Mappandretasi* event or Pesta Laut. Figure 14, is *Kepiting* motif or Crab that won the motif competition in 2017 and became a trend in Pagatan until now. The designer, Ibu Salmah from third-generation weaver explained that designing is a complicated process. A weaver needs to have a certain amount of time and space to imagine the mathematics or counting of the design, then discuss the results with the team to see if the design can be woven or not. The team meeting is necessary because nowadays most of the weavers are not able to finish the weaving process by themselves or only individually, but they have to cooperate with other members who have different skills.

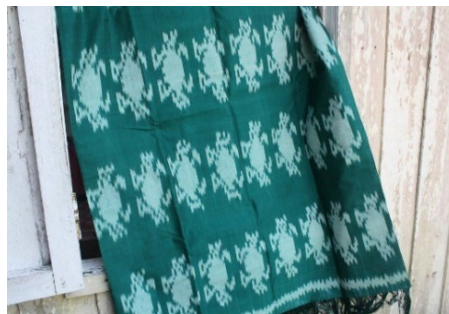


Figure 14.
Kepiting Motif
Source: Author documentation

There is an element of practicality in the process of making a motif. This element chosen by the weavers to sharpen the beauty of colours as shown through X motif in Figure 15 and the dominant X motif in Figure 16. The X is currently a trending motif in Pagatan. Colouring process of the X is said to be the most complicated since colour choice influences simplicity power of the woven fabric. Ibu Ani, one of the third generation of weavers, likes to apply this practical concept to other motifs such as Mawar or Rose with a single branch, or Kembang Kangkung with a single leaf.

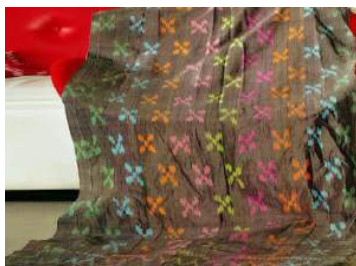


Figure 15.
X Motif with powerful colours
Source: Author documentation



Figure 16.
X motif red and white
Source: Author documentation

Local authorities of Tanah Bumbu Regency was still on going to promote the branding of products. So, the third-generation weavers initiated specific motifs as the border of the fabric. They adopted basic motif of Sasirangan: *Gigi Haruwan* and *Halilipan*. Sasirangan is the existence of fabrics in South Kalimantan that dominated by Banjar culture. *Gigi Haruwan* is a symbol of sharpness of mind and *Halilipan* contains the philosophy of humility like centipede insects that always creep in low places (floor/soil). Figure 17 shows the boundary of *Gigi Haruwan* and *Halilipan* at the top and bottom of the fabric then in the middle the weaver has the freedom to be creative to determine the motif displayed. People may also say the motif as *Bombang* and *Janur*. *Bombang* has the meaning of constancy and soul strength possessed by Bugis sailors when sailing the ocean, while *Janur* or coconut leaves represent flora motifs as proof of the closeness of the weavers to the surrounding environment.



Figure 17.

The boundary ties the warp *Gigi Haruwan* and *Halilipan*

Source: Author documentation

The weavers do not only adopt the motif, but also the attractive colours of Sasirangan. By applying the dyeing technique or tie dye during colouring process, these colour creations enrich the woven fabric. The formations of yellow, red and green can be seen on Figure 18 with motif of Kapal with *Bombang*. Even though the colours seem to dominate the woven fabric, the motif still give strong vision about maritime life and products in Pagatan.



Figure 18.

Kapal and *Bombang* with Sasirangan colours

Source: Author documentation

Ibu Ati, a weaver from third generation keeps mentioning that the creativity itself has to be developed and maintained. Adopting the symbols of Banjar culture is not forbidden, but encouraged, as the Bugis community's life in Ini Pagatan is already integrated with the Banjar, the dominant community in South Kalimantan. It can be seen on Figure 19 with Bakau or Mangrove Trees. This does not mean that the identity of weavers as Bugis descendants will disappear. It is still blended in to the motif. However, this creativity must be discussed first among the group of weavers, negotiated and then agreed upon together. The naming of *Gigi Haruwan* and *Halilipan* as the border and the colouring technique of Sasirangan have symbolised the acculturation of the Bugis and Banjar cultures.



Figure 19.
Bakau Motif

Source: Author documentation

The weaving tradition is described as a form of link for the production of meaning and identity. The appearance of the Bugis language in the motifs and types of Pagatan weaving identifies broader efforts to maintain its cultural identity. The weavers as part of Bugis diaspora community in Pagatan continue to produce meaningful practical values of their social identity that still involve their root essence or their imagination of their homeland. William Safran explained that the diasporas have a sense of belonging to an ideal homeland includes a commitment to the maintenance or restoration of the homeland and to its well-being and prosperity (Cohen & Yefet 2021). Furthermore, Sheffer defined diasporas as ethnic minority groups of migrant origins residing and acting in host countries but maintaining strong sentimental and material links with their country of origin their homelands (Talib 2023). Diaspora is not only about so much a shared predicament of loss as a shared strategy of survival, continuity, and the reproduction of meaning, but it is open to the ways that interactions with collective others are fruitful and even necessary for group identity to persist in transformation (Boyarin 2015).

The transformation for the weavers is not seen as a problem, however a guiding value still needed as they integrate into the society in which they currently live. Hence the role of memory has been explored largely to confine and bind each other individual who involves to continue a tradition. Halbwachs' work remains a rich source of inspiration for thinking about cultural heritage (Viejo-Rose 2015). Halbwachs also draws our attention to the role of landscapes in memory, in terms of both experienced places and how they persist in memory as those who leave these places without seeing them again, who are not involved in their transformation process and soon create a symbolic representation of these places (Schramm 2015). Thus, the collective memory of a society is known by all members of its society, formed in the ideas of creation that are scattered in the society itself and recognized as a stage of developing the social identity of the community.

Halbwachs Maurice's thinking is also explored by Cordeiro who concludes that remembering is a representation of the past constructed in the flow of relationships with others that changes over time in constant accordance with current relationships so that remembering memory as a process of recalling episodic memories that are significant to individuals bound by common interests (Cordeiro 2021). This is why a remembrance that enables participation in a collective memory can be simultaneously recognised and reconstructed through events past that must begin with shared data and concepts and remain alive as they move back and forth continuously in everyone's mind implying by members of the same social group (Minkkinen 2024).

Certain memories brought by their ancestors with historical significance and events continue to remain through materials as a link between members of the diaspora community, distinguishing them from the local population. The sacred colours with the spirits and the bind of traditional loom as still remain in the weaver's memory which tried to be fixed on into a motif and weaving process in Bugis language.

This link, passed on from previous generations, takes the form of knowledge described as tacit knowledge, acquired and managed through shared experience in the closest inner circle of their lives. Some knowledge must have been still remembered or forgotten. As for Halbwachs the processes of remembering and forgetting are social processes which influence each other and keep overlapping due to the individuals' membership in different groups, collective memory is absorbed by these individuals according to their environment and the communication relationships within it (Luu 2023). Collective memory endures and draws strength from its base in a coherent body of people, it is after all individuals as group members who remember (Urbaniak 2015).

The first motif learnt by most of the weavers, resembles the memory of belonging together. When, who and how this motif was passed on in the form of verbal communication is associated with the value of an intersubjective relationship between internal family members when they were children. They keep appreciating their ancestors that this motif could be lost forever if it was not transmitted. Halbwachs (1925) in Brady Wagoner (2015) gives the example of how family creates a condensed image of itself through expressions like 'in our family we have long life spans' and 'we are proud' which bestow a physical and moral quality of the group, which is passed on to its members, and functions to hold the group together cohesively (Wagoner 2015). The weavers' admiration for previous generations is revealed when they explain the skilled and diligent previous weavers when weaving was still a responsibility of Bugis women in Pagatan. Collective memory is a distribution throughout society of what individuals know, believe and feel about the past, how they judge the past morally, how closely they identify with it, and how much they inspired by it as a model for their conduct and identity (Tota & Hagen 2016).

Conclusion

The weavers, as symbols of their survival traditions, face the challenges of an era that demands change. The collective memory that belonged to them is no longer authentic, as some have disappeared. However, those that still remain must be reconstructed in such a way that they cannot leave their past and their imagination of home. The original technological system of Gedok loom to produce certain motifs and also the ideas that preserve their memories still majority used, even the presence of non-mechanical machine or ATBM still cannot replace it. So far, the fabrics produced by ATBM have been seen as proof of the weavers' ability to innovate and absorb new skills, including the adoption of the Sasirangan dyeing technique.

It can be concluded that collective memory still has a consciousness role in societies in Pagatan by the uninterrupted meaning of its traditional woven practices. Consciousness means the identity that trying to be connected politically by developing map on different stage which can be fluid or static. So, whether the weavers choose to leave the memory behind or keep it forever, it depends on their will. By looking at the different dynamics of change in Pagatan, the government should take into account the collective memory of the weavers by incorporating the components into development programmes designed to support the promotion of local economic potential, while at the same time focusing on the intellectual property rights of the motifs.

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